

On the policy sciences in 1943

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Editors' introduction

During the world war crisis in 1943, the chief founder of the policy sciences, Harold D. Lasswell, wrote a memorandum on Personal Policy Objectives and proposals for The Institute of Policy Sciences and A National Institution for the Training of Policy Leaders. They were archived at Yale University along with many other Lasswell papers following his death in 1978, and are published here for the first time because of their contemporary relevance.* For policy scientists, in particular, who are managing their own careers, and working together on the continuing institutionalization of their profession, the memorandum and proposals may be explored for a host of creative ideas that will stimulate additional ideas for these purposes. The documents also shed light on the early history of the policy sciences. Their publication, we hope, will stimulate interest in exploiting the archive at Yale to help clarify the origins of the profession, its interactions with the larger world of power and society, and its past and future significance.

Consider the 1943 context briefly before turning to the memorandum and proposals themselves. Early in the fall when he wrote them, Lasswell was 41; his parents had died the previous spring. He was the Chief of the Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications at the Library of Congress. Prior to taking this position in Washington, Lasswell had been a faculty member at the University of Chicago. There he had achieved a reasonably complete but still evolving conception of the policy sciences by 1935, in the assessment of his long-time collaborator Myres S. McDougal. In a seminal article, Lasswell and McDougal (1943) used the policy sciences to design a program to transform legal education in the public interest. They later implemented the design in the law, science, and policy program at the Yale Law School over several decades. Thus as early as 1943, the article, the memorandum, and the proposals provided documentation of Lasswell's conception of the policy sciences, and outlined the first steps toward institutionalization – stimulated no doubt by the war crisis, and by the problems and opportunities of the post-war period that Lasswell already anticipated.

*These memoranda are printed with the permission of Lasswell's literary executor, W. Michael Reisman. The originals of the memoranda are in the Harold Dwight Lasswell Papers, which are in Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library.

In the memorandum on Personal Policy Objectives, dated October 1, 1943, Lasswell applied the policy sciences to orient himself with respect to unfolding events. He began with the immediate purpose of the memorandum, and moved quickly to a statement of his observational standpoint – a moral commitment to the dignity and worth of the human personality. His ultimate scientific objective was ‘to contribute to the systematic theory of the policy sciences.’ The remainder of the memorandum clarifies this objective, and in doing so summarizes trends, conditions, projections, and alternatives relevant to realization of the objective, including the resources required. The larger significance of this personal scientific program was clear: ‘As a policy advisor I hope to aid in perfecting the intelligence function in our society.’ The personal priorities were also clear: ‘Whatever I do as a scientific consultant of policy-makers must not interfere with the scientific program.’ Lasswell preferred to ‘work without being identified with any one institution of the higher learning’ unless a truly national institution could be developed. As he explained, ‘The advantage of an independent, or a varied, status is that I am more free to express ruthlessly candid judgments, free of ‘collegial’ constraints.’

In an article on career management published elsewhere in this issue of *Policy Sciences*, the two of us recommended the memorandum as a partial model for the self-orientation of contemporary policy scientists. It is only a partial model because the context is different. Among other things, there is no need to reinvent what Lasswell later called ‘central theory,’ the realization of his scientific goal. Of course applications of central theory to priority problems and the integration of new knowledge into central theory are never-ending tasks.

In the proposal for The Institute of Policy Sciences, also dated October 1, 1943, Lasswell developed an alternative, the organizational counterpart to his personal program, based on the same problem-oriented analysis and context. Although Lasswell had his own specific projects for the Institute ‘ready to go,’ other scientists would be ‘free to take the initiative, subject to final authority of the [Institute’s] Board,’ and would be encouraged by the Board to submit their own projects. Some of this proposal was later formalized in what is now called the Policy Sciences Center, Inc. The precursor was established in the late 1940s by Lasswell and his collaborators at the Yale Law School. The Society for the Policy Sciences, for example, is one of the projects now sponsored by the Center. It would be stimulating for the Center’s Board and friends to reconsider in detail any aspects of the 1943 proposal not incorporated into present operations.

In the proposal for A National Institution for the Training of Policy Leaders, dated September 1, 1943, Lasswell envisioned a truly national institution of higher learning ‘free from entangling alliances with existing educational establishments.’ He and his colleagues did train policy leaders at the Yale Law School, but did not establish a national institution for this purpose – perhaps because the proposal was quite ambitious and expensive. It called for ‘a new kind of educational institution devoted exclusively to the needs of policy’ and located in a secluded place accessible to Washington and New York. The students would be ‘members of the rising generation who have already estab-

lished themselves as the sub-leaders of today from whom the leaders of tomorrow will be recruited.' The program would extend over a full year, 'drawing on the best scientific and policy talents available.' The details of the curriculum, although dated in some respects, can stimulate the many discussions of learning and teaching the policy sciences now under way in the Society for the Policy Sciences. These discussions have already included the possibility of a summer institute of three or four weeks duration, and the possibility of a seminar exploiting the internet to explore on a national or international basis selected, and otherwise-neglected, subjects of interest to policy scientists. Such possibilities can be reconceived as modest, incremental steps toward something more ambitious. Perhaps the most fruitful insight is that higher education in the policy sciences need not be focused exclusively on existing institutions of higher education, but might be networked on national or larger scales.

Sixty years later, policy scientists again have good reasons to reconsider our roles, individually and collectively, in the larger world of power and society. The quiet compounding of chronic problems, including inequalities, has been punctuated by declines in trust in major institutions and the rise of global terrorism, demonstrated most prominently on September 11, 2001. We appear to be entering a new phase of insecurity if not crisis in our time.

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Reference

Lasswell, H. D. and M. S. McDougal (1943). 'Legal education and public policy: Professional training in the public interest,' *Yale Law Journal* 52, 203–295.

MEMORANDUM: Personal policy objectives

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to outline my personal policy objectives. They have been in my mind for a long time and the point of putting down these notes now is to invite whatever collaboration there can be on the part of those who are benevolently disposed toward the aims, or toward me.
2. In general terms I desire to contribute to the integration of morals, science and policy. My moral value is that of the individualistic society in which I have been reared, and to which I am loyal: The dignity of the human personality.
3. Whatever contribution I make will be scientific and advisory. I am neither equipped to assume an active role nor interested in one for myself. My skill is analysis and creative criticism.

4. My ultimate objective in the field of science is far from modest. I propose to contribute to the systematic theory of the policy sciences. The policy sciences include the social and psychological sciences; in general, all the sciences that provide facts and principles of direct importance for the making of important decisions in government, business and cultural life.
5. Is it reasonable to devote one's time to systematic theory? This is a question of the trend of the time, and of my personal qualifications.
6. So far as the trend of the time is concerned, the need of integration among the policy sciences on the theoretical level is explicitly recognized by the specialists themselves. The *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* is a sign of the urge toward unity. Whether we deal with psychology, sociology, economics, political science, law, or any other relevant specialty, we find ample corroborative evidence of the desire for integration.
7. Some recent technical advances have improved the prospects of fruitful moves in this direction. The development of modern propositional logic (by Russell, Whitehead, Carnap, and others) has provided a more refined instrument of formal statement than we have possessed in the past. Psychological theory is already showing the beneficial effects of the new technique (Clark, Hull, Tolman, for example); comparable efforts are under way in allied fields.
8. The multiplication of fact-gathering methods has broken down the spurious isolation of many observers of human life. Forty years ago the clinician was in a world apart from the sociologist; but today there are dozens of interviewing methods that stand between the prolonged sessions of a psychoanalyst and the brief interrogation of a poll-maker. The question is no longer whether a method is 'justifiable', but how its data are interrelated with the results obtained by other methods.
9. I have deliberately set out to acquire familiarity with all, or many, of the policy sciences. To this end I have studied, and published contributions to, what is commonly called political science, economics, sociology, social psychology, law, anthropology or psychoanalysis. This is reflected in the journals where my work has been published. (For example, *The American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Political Economy*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *Yale Law Journal*, *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, *Psychoanalytic Review*, etc.)
10. Integration of the policy sciences on the theoretical level must be carried out with an eye to the state of research in each field. There must be explicit connection made between the key terms, postulates, definitions and rules, and the data obtained by various methods of observation. A fruitful integration will stimulate research on neglected problems by the most adequate procedures.
11. I want to spend part of my time, not only on the systematic statement of theory, but upon devising new instruments of research. We are still in an early stage of 'instrumentation' in the social sciences. I have already aided

in perfecting 'descriptive semantics' (or, to use alternative names, 'content analysis of what is said in communications', 'attention analysis'). In the future I hope to devise more satisfactory ways of recording the daily experience of men who are in the thick of making important policy decisions. In the long run, I hope to establish a network of procedures and personal connections that will make it possible to obtain vital information that is usually lost. More specifically, I refer to intimate interviews with successful policy leaders (and runners-up) designed to provide us with clues to the factors contributing to their success (and failure).

12. As a policy advisor I hope to aid in perfecting the intelligence function in our society. By the intelligence function I refer to the process of making available to those who make decisions the facts and interpretations designed to improve the rationality and morality of their judgments. During the present war I have had unusual opportunity to experiment in this direction, and to become acquainted with difficulties to be overcome.
13. An adequate intelligence function should clarify goals and appraise them not only in terms of expediency but of morality; it should clarify alternatives of action; it should provide pertinent information about trends and causal relations. If I am to perform a policy advisory function I must keep myself informed of the major trends of world development and the advances of science; I must think creatively about ways and means of accomplishing future results; I must operate with explicit conceptions of the common good. To some extent I have been involved in the criticism of policy, or the guidance of research, in connection with several agencies, such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture (analysis of the administrative effectiveness of the Farm Security Administration), the U.S. Department of Justice (detection of enemy and subversive propaganda), the Library of Congress (War Communications Research, available to the Federal Communications Commission, and the war information agencies of the government), General Education Board (The Rockefeller Foundation; self-appraisal and program of communications research), etc.
14. In order to function effectively I need a personal staff (experience has shown that basic expenditures of about \$1,000 a week are needed; this has been approximately the scale of my operations in recent years). At such a level I can maintain my scientific output and keep a perspective on developments that ensures the worth of my policy advice.
15. The basic framework of my activities must be a research organization devoted to scientific and not commercial research (that is, an organization that receives gifts of funds for research whose results are made available through publication to the scientific community at large). Whatever I do as a scientific consultant of policy-makers must not interfere with the scientific program.
16. I prefer to work without being identified exclusively with any one institution of the higher learning, unless institutions truly national in their scope can be developed (such as a training center for national policy leaders).

The advantage of an independent, or a varied, status is that I am more free to express ruthlessly candid judgments, free of 'collegial' restraint.

Harold D. Lasswell
October 1, 1943

PROPOSAL

THE INSTITUTE OF POLICY SCIENCES: For research and training in selected basic problems in the integration of theory, method, and policy

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to outline definite steps to be taken now toward integrating morals, science, and policy.
2. The moral aim is the central value of a free society – the dignity of man. Science and policy are necessary means to this moral end.
3. Policy is the making of important decisions. Both the morality and the rationality of policy depend upon an adequate intelligence function. Where the intelligence function is adequate, policy-makers have relevant facts and interpretations brought to their attention. Hence, one of our principal objectives is to perfect the intelligence function in society.
4. The policy sciences must be properly articulated with one another if they are to achieve the optimum level of fruitfulness in relation to truth or policy. The policy sciences include the social, psychological, and related sciences that contribute facts and principles of direct importance for the adjustment of interpersonal relationships.
5. Integration among the policy sciences must take place preeminently on the level of systematic theory. Theory is most creative when it directs attention to hitherto neglected areas of investigation and stimulates the invention of new procedures of observation.
6. The need of integration is more obvious today than ever. Everyone sees that our moral values and our very survival are at stake. All our resources must be effectively mobilized for the advancement of our short-and long-term interests.
7. The need of integration is far more widely admitted today than it was yesterday. Everywhere there is a call for integration on all levels, for the proper articulation of the part with the whole.
8. The war, in particular, has made the policy scientists more alive than ever to the larger environment in which they operate. During the crisis many of them have tried to make clear to policy-makers the nature of the special contribution they are qualified to make. Often they have been unsuccessful, but their rebuffs have stimulated a will to overcome obstacles rather than to succumb to them.
9. The advance of the sciences has created many conditions favorable to more perfect theoretical integration, notably the development of modern logic and the spread of semantic sophistication about the function of

language. Many 'pseudo-issues', growing out of semantic naivete, have disappeared. Another favorable factor is the expansion of research in interstitial areas among older fields of knowledge. The members of the scientific community have a more differentiated understanding of the interdependence of different methods of observation.

10. As a means of stimulating integrative tendencies it is proposed to set up an organization 'for research and training in selected basic problems in the integration of theory, method, and policy.' The proposed name is INSTITUTE OF POLICY SCIENCES.
11. Since the plan of the Institute is to select strategic problems of special promise for the total program, existing associations and establishments will be supplemented, not superseded.
12. The functions of the Institute of Policy Sciences may be summarized as follows:
 - a) Posing of problems connected with integration.
 - b) Formulating systematic statements of integrated social theory.
 - c) Developing new tools of research.
 - d) Collecting basic social data.
 - e) Providing services to the professional members of the policy sciences.
13. What is implied in each of these functions may be indicated briefly. In regard to the first, posing of problems connected with integration: Reference has already been made to factors congenial to internal integration of the theories and methods of the policy sciences. Moreover, we have emphasized circumstances favorable to the external integration of science with morals and policy. We need to re-consider what we have learned in the war and to use it, not only in a next war, but in peace.
 The entire network of our research institutions needs revaluation. Can we clarify the role of university research, of special research bureaus, of commercial research agencies, of research inside commercial concerns?
 The Institute of Policy Sciences can promptly pose these questions in conferences and publications, and in this way fertilize inquiry in this specific network of problems.
14. With respect to (b), formulating systematic statements of integrated social theory, we have only to reiterate that the core of any science is the theoretical framework. All policy sciences are in an active period of reconsideration, as indicated by the mere appearance of such a statement as that by Karl Mannheim in 'Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction.' Many of the specialized fields, long exempt from integrative tendencies, are broadening their scope. Economics becomes once again 'political economy', and psychology becomes increasingly 'social psychology'. At the same time there are developments in the field of 'social biology' and related physical sciences.
 The Institute of Policy Sciences should concentrate upon original work in the field of systematic and integrated theory. The task must be subject to continuous criticism by many specialists. Although the final product must

take shape in one mind, or in a very small number of minds, it should at least have the benefit of exposure to firm yet sympathetic evaluations by competent colleagues.

15. In regard to (c), developing new tools of research, we may underline the fact that procedures have come into being at a rapid rate in recent social science and many more need to be perfected. The whole field of descriptive semantics ('content analysis', 'attention analysis') is unfolding at a vigorous pace. More perfect procedures are needed in keeping records of actual situations in modern administrative life. The findings of physical and biological science have many suggestions for the future control of response.
16. So far as (d) is concerned, the preparation of basic data, many projects are opportune. Those who make legal and other decisions in public and private life need to have at hand easy means of examining the context in which they operate. One of the continuing projects of the Institute may well be the editing of a Trend Book and a Skill Book. (A provisional outline of such undertaking can be found in Harold D. Lasswell and Myres S. McDougal, 'Legal Education and Public Policy: Professional Training in the Public Interest,' *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 2, March, 1943, pp. 203–295 (Appendix). In this connection one of the projects may be the preparation of basic social data running back as far as possible through American, European, and general world history. The point here is to establish the work of the Institute as of crucial importance for all the policy scientists. This is peculiarly opportune, since the new procedures of descriptive semantics make it possible to prepare the Annals of World Attention, which really become a part of the annals of human experience.
17. The Institute can perform several special services (function (e)) to the members of the professions connected with the policy sciences. There are placement problems: Individuals with unusual skills and special forms of personality need to be put in environments where they can function to the best advantage. The Institute can aid in bringing together the person and the opportunity, and at the same time improve acquaintance with available human resources. Part of this program involves training functions supervised directly or indirectly by the Institute. (A very elaborate training possibility is outlined in another memorandum.)
18. One of the means by which the Institute can accomplish its purpose is by private seminars of staff members, board members, consultants, and invited experts. The indispensable seminar will be the one on systematic theory, in which positive formulations are evaluated.
19. Another feature of the program can be audited seminars. The audited seminar may admit any number of observers and listeners and the proceedings may even be broadcast in whole or in part as a contribution to the general intelligence function. Policy proposals lend themselves particularly to this mode of treatment. There might be 'continuing constitutional conventions,' where competent persons or groups would present specific

recommendations for detailed evaluation. As Bentham pointed out a century ago, the constitution-making process is perpetual, and the basic systems of society need constantly to be explored for their adequacy. The continuing convention idea can be adapted to problems of world scope, to the nation, state, and locality.

20. Besides seminars, the Institute of Policy Sciences will publish books, magazines, and periodicals as occasions arise. Some activities may be sponsored directly or conducted in affiliation. Inquiry may show that some existing journals of good reputation lack a sponsor or find survival difficult under present-day conditions. It may be economical to cooperate with these going establishments. (In passing, it may be commented that one seminar function may be the critical appraisal of significant contributions to current science. The discussion might be summarized as the leading article in the book review section, in this way no doubt providing a more rounded evaluation of a book than is customary under the 'Robinson Crusoe' system of book reviewing as at present practiced.)
21. The writer of this memorandum already has a research nucleus that work in the area of problems pertaining to integration. A systematic theory of the policy sciences is being developed by the writer in collaboration with Dr. Abraham Kaplan, logician (on leave from the Department of Philosophy of the University of California at Los Angeles). Studies of comparative elite and symbol analysis in the major areas of the world are being carried forward by part-time research associates and consultants. Among these may be mentioned Dr. Sergei Yakobson (Library of Congress, formerly of the Osteuropa Institute, Breslau), Nathan C. Leites (on leave from The University of Chicago, Political Science Department, and now with OWI), and David N. Rowe (Yale Institute of International Studies). In the field of descriptive political semantics, Joseph Goldsen and Professor George Herzog, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, are at work. My own research program for the coming year in these areas calls for an expenditure of approximately \$40,000 (in addition to my own salary). Most of these funds are now underwritten, but I should like to have them administered through the new institute in order, among other things, to contribute to the development of the basic aim of integration. Although the specific projects of the writer of this memorandum are 'ready to go' and will be prominent at the very outset of the Institute, this does not imply that the Institute is intended to furnish facilities for his work alone. On the contrary – the Board of the Institute should encourage the submission of other projects appropriate to the task of unifying theory, developing new methods, and improving the intelligence function. Members of the Board, or other scientists, are free to take the initiative, subject to final authority of the Board. When the Board has agreed to accept and support a project, the scientist put in charge of that undertaking will be personally responsible for it. This means that once the Board has selected a qualified specialist and

endorsed a study, the professional freedom of the scientist is completely respected.

This is subject to the following condition: The Board members may read any manuscript prior to publication, and note reservations, and these notes must be published with the document. (This device has been successfully used by The National Bureau of Economic Research in New York.) Moreover, should the Board be unwilling to provide the money for publication of results, the scientist is authorized to publish the study separately, together with the reservations made by the individual members of the Board, or the Board as a whole.

The Institute of Policy Sciences will engage in purely scientific research as a non-profit organization. It will not be authorized to serve individual clients, as a commercial agency does. All programs must depend on gift funds, and all results must be available to the scientific public.

At the beginning the Board should be small (approximately seven) and composed principally of scientists who desire to further the program of integration. Laymen who are in sympathy with the aim of the Institute may be included. I have in mind a Board that would include vigorous and respected specialists, notably in the field of law, economics, political science, social psychology, biology, and biochemistry. The academic connections of those under consideration include Yale, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Bennington, Union, Harvard. The Institute would, of course, make use of advisors and consultants from all the policy sciences, selected according to the dominant problems of any given period.

Should large endowments be received, the Board structure might be modified to include larger lay representation. In this case the scientific and educational functions of the Board would be given to selected heads of the research or educational programs under its auspices.

At present there are indications that funds may be offered the Institute from private foundations or private individuals to carry on a program of research designed to aid in the formation of civic policy in a certain city. Other possibilities also exist, and can be brought up for Board consideration.

There need be no hesitation in taking initiatives that contain a promise of wider recognition for integrative inquiries.

22. The following practical steps are therefore proposed: A group of trustees, composed of a small number of outstanding scientists and laymen interested in the field of integration, should be organized. As soon as formal incorporation takes place, announcement should be made to the scientific world through the usual professional channels. In order to pose the problems of integration promptly and to spread awareness of the function of the Institute, arrangements should be made for the prompt publication of pamphlets or for the circulation of appropriate reprints. The following titles are suggestive only:
 - Harold D. Lasswell, 'The Policy Sciences: The Integration of Morals, Science, and Policy'

- Lawrence K. Frank, ‘What Have Social Scientists Learned in the War?’
- Stacy May, ‘Economic Intelligence and Economic Policy’
- Archibald MacLeish, ‘The Intelligencer: Reviving an Honorable and Ancient Function’
- Charles E. Merriam, ‘Scientific Intelligence and Government Action’
- Caryl Haskins, editor, ‘A Symposium on Natural Science and Public Policy’
- Caryl Haskins and Harold D. Lasswell, ‘The Theoretical Integration of Biological and Social Sciences’.

Harold D. Lasswell
October 1, 1943

PROPOSAL

A NATIONAL INSTITUTION FOR THE TRAINING OF POLICY LEADERS

The need

The American people have need of political leadership, a need that transcends the immediate urgencies of the war and reaches into the continuing crises of the peace. Whether we like it or not, we are in an epoch of history in which the future control of the globe is at stake. We are fighting the Second World War of the twentieth century, and the first half of the century is not yet done. Until a stable equilibrium of world forces has been attained, peace is armistice, not settlement. In this struggle for security and power, the fate of the Americans of this and of every ensuing generation is at issue; the realization of human dignity is involved.

It is an under-statement to say that American political leadership leaves something to be desired. This is more than a question of party leadership; it goes far deeper and wider into business, religious, and cultural life. Policy leadership is [not] confined to the conspicuous control of political parties or the making of decisions in legislatures, courts, and administrative offices. In this interdependent world, policy leadership embraces all who have a direct part in the making of important decisions, whether the institution is government, party, business, trade union, church or ‘pressure’ group.

For generations we Americans have been able to pursue our private interest, serenely expecting the public interest to take care of itself. It is not that we have been more selfish than other people – we have not challenged self-interest because it seemed the sensible way to serve the common good. According to the philosophy of the ‘invisible hand’ a national advantage was supposed to emerge where visible hands worked for private gain.

Our people and those who lead among us have overlooked the crucial distinction between immediate and long-run interest. The calculation of imme-

diates self-interest calls for little rational consideration of America's place in the world and of the integration of any specific activity with the entire stream of national life. To calculate the long-run interest – the common good – an informed intelligence is essential. There must be vision, knowledge, and a common moral aim.

New ways of thinking are needed if American institutions are to live and flourish. We need more direct service of the public good. America needs a generation of leaders capable of candid and disciplined thought about what makes our nation great. Americans need to be aware of themselves; they ought to be policy-minded; they must see and understand the bearing of each decision upon the interest of the nation and of society as a whole.

This is an emergency need of the hour. It is also a trend need of the times. The present emergency is no aberration of the moment but the culmination of an epoch. The science that created the machine built the bomber; so long as the effective radius of the bombing plane increases, the size of political units will expand. We have already seen this process working in Europe where a middle European state has extended its area of control to embrace a continent. There is no doubt that we are caught in the tide of historical process which we must navigate or in which we capsize.

The totalitarian powers quite properly pay special heed to the training of adequate leadership. In Germany there are special schools for the training of the political elite. Boys are recruited on the basis of certain personality traits, and they are provided with an environment calculated to weld them into loyal and obedient servants of an arbitrary regime.

The leadership problem of a free society is far more difficult than in a regimented society. For one thing, we must train more leaders; for another, we must train leaders capable of winning assent for realistic national policy.

It is the purpose of the institution here proposed to contribute in the most effective way possible to the creation of policy leaders in a free society.

The direct answer

The most direct answer to the need of adequate leaders is a new kind of educational institution devoted exclusively to the needs of policy.

At present there is no such institution. Training for policy is an incident of training for science and teaching, for administrative management, or for the practice of law. It is a by-product, not a prime product.

Existing educational institutions do not aim at the most appropriate students for policy training. The most desirable student body for such a program are the members of the rising generation who have already established themselves as the sub-leaders of today from among whom the leaders of tomorrow will be recruited. They are the promising young executives of government, industry, trade unions, representation (pressure) groups, churches and general culture. They have all been to college – or to its equivalent 'college of hard

knocks'. If they went to a graduate or professional school of law, social science, business, or journalism, they have been 'out in the world' long enough to show they have the capacity to survive and lead. Already these young leaders influence the decisions of their seniors – tomorrow their influence will be far greater than it is today.

Our proposed training program is primarily directed to this young policy group. The idea is to bring them together for a program of study, reflection and stimulation – a program extending over a year and drawing on the best scientific and policy talents available.

Many private organizations will seize the opportunity to improve the training of promising young men and women upon whom their future depends. Business corporations, trade unions, associations of farmers and small businessmen, churches – in short, every part of the American body politic – may provide an annual quota of fellowships. The institution itself should have enough money to offer fellowships of its own for promising individuals.

Already the germ of this idea has been successfully tried on a limited scale in connection with the Nieman Fellowships in Journalism at Harvard University. Young men – the rising leaders of their profession – have been granted fellowships to spend a year at Harvard. Such students are already in contact with reality. They are already in a position to influence their fellow citizens. They are provided an opportunity to fill in educational gaps and to reorient themselves toward the basic problems of American policy. The program has justified itself and Harvard is cautiously extending it in connection with the Littauer School.

The present program projects the idea on a national scale, free from entangling alliances with existing educational establishments. It is proposed to select a center accessible to Washington and New York yet sufficiently off the main traveled road to provide needed seclusion.

Why other alternatives are not suitable

There are several possible alternatives but they are less promising for the proposed institution than the procedure just described. One possibility is to select students from among those who have completed their professional training (a degree in law or a degree in the social sciences). The objection to this is that when long years have been devoted to theoretical preparation, practical contact with the outside world is sorely needed. After direct experience, another season of reflection is valuable; and that is what is planned for the new institution.

Another possibility would be to develop a full-length graduate school of law and political and social science. There are several graduate schools in existence, each of them burdened by lack of funds. The existing institutions need to be strengthened; they should not be weakened by the appearance of a new competitor. There is nothing sufficiently distinctive about the idea of three years of advanced training to justify the experiment.

Another possibility would be to develop a full undergraduate course in political and social science. Some of the liberal arts colleges in the country go a certain distance along this road. This alternative is objectionable, not only because it duplicates existing facilities, but because there would be a time lag between training and public influence.

Fellowships

The Fellowship program for the proposed institution, therefore, should be for men and women regardless of academic preparation who have achieved some degree of success in policy-making and who need a year of further study or reflection.

A small permanent staff of professors

The institution should provide for a small permanent staff of appointees, selecting men of outstanding importance in the political and social sciences.

Many short-term appointments

The small permanent staff should continually supplement itself by means of short-term appointments. Distinguished specialists should be invited to spend periods of from a fortnight to a year at the institution. During their period of residence they would be responsible for seminars and conferences within the scope of the program.

Visitors

A continual stream of distinguished visitors from all fields of national and world activity would be arranged. Conferences and discussions with these visitors will be one of the most valuable features of the institution.

Basic ideas

The plan of the institution must be dominated by a clear set of basic ideas.

One of the basic ideas is that the institution is devoted to *policy*; this distinguishes it from any institution now operating in America, whether under the name of college, university, institute, or academy.

When we speak of policy we mean the making of important decisions. The objective is to train leaders who are the most active in making the vital deci-

sions in society whether they make them as party leaders, government officials, business executives, or ecclesiastics.

Another basic idea is that we train *Americans*. Our task is to perceive the distinctive values of American life and to adapt our institutions to the preservation and fulfillment of these values. America is dedicated to respect for human personality. It is the responsibility of American statesmen to measure every decision by its effect upon human dignity. Whether the problem is one of public finance, or defense, or civic training, the American criterion is respect for the capacity of every human being to contribute to the common life. Properly understood decisions from the American point of view will integrate with decisions from the point of view of mankind as a whole.

Clarity of goal

These basic ideas must be clear in the minds of all who plan the institution and they must be communicated to students and to all others who have anything to do with the undertaking.

Philosophy

Students must understand the rational grounds of our values. It is the special office of philosophy to provide skill in the derivation of values. Although philosophy does not provide us with values (which spring from the interaction of the personality in culture), it provides a means of deriving them from basic postulates. Some measure of skill in derivation should be part of the equipment of every responsible leader.

As a means of stimulating adequate thought about values, the institution should expose students to outstanding exponents of the most important philosophic traditions. Without at this moment going into detail on this matter we may refer in passing to such representative political philosophers as Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard; Robert M. MacIver, Columbia; Jacques Maritain; A. D. Lindsay, Oxford.

Trend thinking

Concerned with the fate of America in the world, students and faculty will need to pass in review our existing knowledge of basic political and social trends. Trend thinking is more than factual observation of the remote or recent past. It includes the critical consideration of probable lines of future development. Proper planning of public policy calls for such critical consideration of the probable shape of things to come.

As a means to trend thinking, students should be brought in contact with

outstanding scholars who are well acquainted with our knowledge of past and recent trends and who have definite pictures of the probable course of future development. In this connection we may mention such representative names as Karl Mannheim, London School of Economics and Political Science; William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard.

Factor analysis

Besides trend thinking, students will need to think in terms of the interrelationship of mutually conditioning factors in personality and culture. This is the scientific frame of thought in the strictest sense of the word. It is necessary to pass in review the basic terms, postulates, definitions, hypotheses, and findings of the policy sciences. By policy sciences is meant the social, psychological, and related sciences that provide facts and principles of direct importance for the adjustment of human relations. They provide the systematic intelligence on the basis of which rational policy decisions can be made.

Program thinking

Program thinking is concerned with inventing and evaluating proposals for American policy. It proceeds within the framework of values, trends and factors, and adds the creative link with the emerging practical situation. If the students are to focus their attention on integrated policy for America, they must continually be afforded opportunities to think programmatically.

The basic book list

One of the most important tasks of the faculty will be to maintain a select reading list of basic books, a list recommended to the student group each year. It is comparatively easy to specialize on one segment of knowledge; it is far more difficult to obtain guidance toward the achievement of an inclusive point of view regarding the findings of science and the directions of policy. The basic book list should be subject to constant criticism and revision. Its preparation will constitute one of the most important and responsible operations of the institution.

The basic materials list

Besides books, selections can be made of film and other material of great synoptic value. We are only beginning to make the films necessary to meet the needs of medical education and psychiatric study. Very few are available for

instruction in the strategic and technical problems of military, economic, diplomatic, or ideological policy.

Personal inventory

We are all aware of the fact that the effectiveness of many people is greatly reduced because of defects some of which can be readily corrected. Many individuals articulate badly; they need to listen to recordings of their speaking voices and to learn how to modify their speech habits. In many cases there are food habits that reduce the stamina of the person.

Opportunities for personal inventory should be made available to students at the institution. Speaking over the radio, writing for popular or technical publications, testifying before the courts as expert witnesses – many of the skills appropriate to these situations can be acquired or improved during the year.

Self-improvement does not need to be imposed in arbitrary fashion. When students learn to think of themselves as dedicated to the task of becoming ever more effective instruments of public policy, they will naturally strive to improve themselves. Competent assistance, such as adequate medical advice, should be at hand at the College when students feel impelled to take advantage of such specialized talent.

Curriculum

The following proposals concerning curriculum are suggestive only. There are several forms of curriculum consistent with the objectives of the proposed institution. Although it will be necessary to begin with a definite tentative program, it should be taken for granted that the details are subject to constant revision in the light of criticism and experience.

The following is a quick preview of one possible curriculum. During the morning students should devote themselves to seminars. The afternoon can be free for individual study and activity. Conferences, lectures and discussions can take place in the evening.

The seminars should be organized according to the four fronts of modern politics and war – ideology, diplomacy, economy, strategy. The four basic seminars running through the year may be called World Ideology, World Diplomacy, World Economy, and World Strategy.

The seminar on World Ideology will study the most influential ideas in world politics, and examine the methods by which these ideologies are disseminated. The seminar on World Diplomacy will review the trends of recent diplomatic history, and evaluate the effectiveness of available means of achieving results through diplomacy. The seminar on World Economy will examine the currents of world production and consumption, and consider the extent to which politically significant effects can be achieved by the adjustment of prices and the

supply of goods. The seminar on World Strategy will be concerned with the theory and practice of war.

Each seminar will train students to think in terms of what we have called trend and factor thinking. The seminar on ideology will examine the rational grounds of the several ideologies that it considers; then examine them from the standpoint of trend and factor analysis.

Two evenings every week can wisely be devoted to the specific consideration of human personality. The four morning seminars must necessarily focus attention upon the larger outlines of political life. It is important to supplement this type of knowledge by detailed understanding of how people develop their personality traits. Students should become familiar with the remarkable new discoveries that have been made in recent years by specialists in child development, comparative psychology, clinical psychology and medicine.

Two evenings every week should be devoted to planning and presenting a program for America. We need programmatic thinking if we are to organize a common point of view among policy-makers. The practice of program thinking is of fundamental importance if the basic principles of a free society are to be formulated with ever-increasing clarity and applied to an ever-widening range of specific decisions. Three evenings every week can be left for special conferences with visitors.

The four seminars

As we have said, the four fronts of modern politics and war are ideology, diplomacy, economy and strategy. These four fronts are part of a united total operation, which is the use of power as a means of protecting and expanding values. In each theatre of operations the aims of strategy are the same:

1. To win support at home.
2. To demoralize external opponents.
3. To win allies.
4. To retain the friendship of neutrals.

The distinctive instrument of ideological politics and warfare is ideas – or, properly speaking, the symbols that evoke these ideas. (By a ‘symbol’ is meant a word, or word substitute like a picture.) The distinctive instrument of diplomacy is negotiation, the peaceful offer and counter-offer of gains and losses. (In this sense the term diplomacy is wide enough to include diplomatic exchanges, mediation, arbitration, agreement, adjudication.) The instruments of economy are goods and prices. The final tools of strategy are the armed forces (army, naval and air forces; police).

The following suggestions about the four seminars are even more tentative than the proposals made thus far. Final decision must, of course, be left to the outstanding specialists who are assembled to constitute the small staff of permanent professors.

World ideology

The seminar on world ideology will give most of its attention to the great bodies of thought in the name of which the most important ruling groups of the world justify their claims to power (or in the name of which they are attacked). Democracy, Fascism, National Socialism, Japanism, are among the great ideologies of our day (and the great religions can be added to this list).

The truth-value of each ideological system will be examined; but the chief emphasis needs to be put upon the rational grounds of our own democratic values. Books of the following type can be recommended for critical consideration, and where possible their authors may be asked to take part in the life of the institution.

Ruth Nanda Anshen (Editor), *Freedom: Its Meaning* (A collection of thoughtful essays by some of the leading philosophers and scientists of the modern world.)

A. D. Lindsay, *Essentials of Democracy*

H. H. Tawney, *Equality*

C. D. Burns, *Democracy*

These are representative of some of the most eloquent expositions in the English language of the rational grounds of democracy. Many American writers – including John Dewey, Horace Kallen, Arthur Hocking – have made valuable re-statements of this kind.

The modern study of ideology needs to go much further than the examination of the rational grounds for affirming the truth of democratic values. We must acquaint ourselves with the formal structure of the leading systems if we are to detect their presence and to expose and defeat them.

Our students need to study the structure of the most important ideological systems by examining its authoritative treatises, supplemented by scholarly and painstaking commentaries upon these works. The list of authoritative treatises is constantly subject to some degree of change – it is obvious that the books of Leon Trotsky, for example, ceased, after a certain point, to be authoritative in the Soviet Union. We must carefully determine which authoritative treatises appear for the first time during a given period, which old treatises are re-issued and possibly re-edited, which old treatises, though not re-issued or re-edited, are still circulated and promoted.

The following brief list of books is representative of those than can be consulted with advantage in this connection. They are either authoritative expositions of ideology or else scholarly efforts to expound the propositions structure of these systems.

Joseph Stalin, *Leninism* (2 vols.)

V. Adoratsky, *Dialectical Materialism*

Chas. J. McFadden, *The Philosophy of Communism*

James E. Le Rossignol, *From Marx to Stalin: A Critique of Communism*
 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*
 Aurel Kolnai, *The War on the West*
 Michael T. Florinsky, *Fascism and National Socialism*
 Charles E. Merriam, *The New Democracy and the New Despotism*
 Eduard Heimann, *Communism, Fascism and Democracy*
 Carl Snyder, *Capitalism the Creator*
 Jacques Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*

There are many penetrating students of ideology in America, notably Oscar Jaszi, whose authoritative articles have been published in English only in abbreviated form (in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*). For general perspective there is the work of such scholars as Charles M. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*.

Within recent years there have been important advances in the methods of studying ideological systems. Examples of this literature are: Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (4 vols.); Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, and *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*.

The study of ideology calls for the analysis of recent and past trends in the acceptance or rejection of the system in question, and the critical evaluation of factors affecting its spread and restriction. Among the relevant factors are the propagandas organized to influence the result. Representative of recent studies of the spread of important political (including revolutionary) movements are:

Franz Borkenau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International*
 L. R. C. James, *World Revolution*
 Arthur Rosenberg, *History of Bolshevism*
 Konrad Heiden, *History of National Socialism*
 E. B. Ashton, *The Fascist State of Mind*
 Bruce C. Hopper, *Pan-Sovietism*
 Robert Hunter, *Revolution: Why, How, When?*

Modern students of ideology, public attention and propaganda are perfecting more and more exact methods of describing the contents of the channels of communication, and the total volume of propaganda activity. Students need to be familiar with these new techniques. For example: H. D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, *World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study*; Hornell Hart, Chapter 8 in *Recent Social Trends*.

Our methods of describing the reading and listening habits of audiences are also being perfected.

Louis R. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading: The Study of the Distribution and Status of Libraries in the United States*
 Douglas Waples, *People and Print: Social Aspects of Reading in the Depression*
 Paul Lazarsfeld, *Radio and the Printed Page*

Methods are also being perfected of describing the state of collective response.

George Gallup and Sol F. Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy; The Public Opinion Poll and How it Works*

Tom Harrison and Charles Madge (Editors), *Mass Observation: War Begins at Home*

The theory of propaganda – of the dissemination of ideologies – has been expounded and specific campaigns have been analyzed.

F. C. Bartlett, *Political Propaganda*

L. Doob, *Propaganda*

Serge Chakotin, *The Rape of The Masses: The Psychology of Totalitarian Political Propaganda*

E. Hadamovsky, *Propaganda and Political Terror* (in German)

Edmond Taylor, *The Strategy of Terror*

James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won The War*

George Bruntz, *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918*

Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution 1763-1783*

Standard annotated bibliographies are available in this field. One is by H. D. Lasswell, R. D. Casey and B.L. Smith, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*, and the Committee for National Morals, *Psychological Warfare*.

World diplomacy

The function of diplomacy in war and peace is to protect and expand values by negotiation. This calls for the correct appraisal of how far persons and groups will go before resorting to war (subject to the qualification that the purpose of negotiation may be to provoke war, in which case diplomacy is the immediate instrument of strategy and not of total politics).

Successful diplomacy, therefore, is possible only where there is awareness of the changing strength of persons and groups in world affairs. The seminar on World Diplomacy will examine recent and remote trends in the power of different states, together with the changing influence of various persons and groups inside these states. By examining historical instances of diplomatic negotiation it will be possible to determine the extent to which the technique of negotiation itself can become a significant factor in furthering the objectives of total politics.

Since decisions affecting America must be taken with reference to the probable course of future events, it is important to consider alternative interpretations of what these future developments are likely to be. For this reason students must

be trained to open their minds to the critical evaluation of the future as well as to the factual survey of the past.

It is important, therefore, to bring to the notice of the members of the seminar interpretations of the destiny of each of the great powers, and of each component group within each state. (The term 'social structure' means the basic characteristics of the distribution of influence among regional, class, skill, party, and other groups within a state.)

Representative of books interpreting the present course of world development (and in many cases summarizing important facts about changing social structure) are the following:

- Charles Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*
 Max Nomad, *Rebels and Renegades*
 Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*
 P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (vol. 3)
 Emil Lederer, *The State of the Masses*
 Peter Drucker, *The End of Economic Man*
 Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*
 Roberto Michels, *Transformations in the Ruling Classes Since The War* (German)
 Guy S. Ford (Editor), *Dictatorship and the Modern World*
 Goetz A. Briefs, *The Proletariat*
 Franklin C. Palm, *The Middle Classes Then and Now*
 Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Middle Classes in American Politics*
 A. M. Carr-Saunders and Caradog Jones, *Survey of the Social Structure of England and Wales*
 A. A. Berle, Jr. and Gardner Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*

For vital and recent data concerning the structure of American society, several monographs published under the auspices of the Temporary National Economic Committee must be consulted.

The detailed history of interstate relations in modern times can be conveniently found in such treatises as

- William L. Langer, *Union Alliances and Alignments 1871–1890 – Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890–1902*
 R. J. Sontag, *Germany and England, Background of Conflict 1848–1894*
 Sidney Fay, *The Origins of the World War*
 O. J. Hale, *Germany and the Political Revolution*
 F. L. Schuman, *Europe on the Eve; Night Over Europe*
 Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Coming of War, 1914*
 S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*
 W. C. Langsan, *The World Since 1914*
 C. C. Tansill, *America Goes to War*
 F. L. Paxson, *American Democracy and the World War* (2 vols.)

Attention may be directed to books that single out specific factors or groups of factors for the analysis of power political changes.

Derwent Whittlesey, *The Earth and the State: A Study in Political Geography*
 V. Hennig, *Geopolitics* (in German)
 H. D. Lasswell, *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*
 Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*
 Alfred Vagts, *History of Militarism*

World economy

The seminar on World Economy is concerned with the contribution to be made to total politics by the skillful handling of goods and prices. The seminar will follow trends of economic development, familiarize itself with significant factor analysis, and with the effects of different goods and price policies. Such a program would call for the study of population and settlement trends.

A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Populations: Past Growth and Future Trends – Collective Migrations* (2 vols.)
 Isaiah Bowman, *Limits of Land Settlement*

Facts about the distribution of raw materials:

Eugene Staley, *Raw Materials In Peace and War*
 Brooks Emeny, *The Strategy of Raw Materials*
 W. Y. Elliott (Editor), *International Control of Non-Ferrous Metals*

Special inquiries can be directed to each of the raw materials of importance for modern industrial economies:

Foodstuffs: wheat, sugar, rice, coffee, tea, beef, mutton, pork, dairy products, fruits, potatoes, cocoa, tobacco –

Energy Sources: coal, petroleum, water power –

Metals: iron, manganese, nickel, chromium, tungsten, vanadium, molybdenum, aluminum, antimony, copper, lead, mercury, tin, zinc, platinum, gold, silver –

Non-metallic Minerals: coal, petroleum, asbestos, fluorspar, graphite, magnesite, mica, nitrates, phosphates, potash, sulphur –

Textile Fibers: cotton, wool, silk, rayon, flax, hemp, jute –

Fats and Oils: lard, oleo fat, butter, cod liver oil, whale oil, tallow, castor, cocoanut, corn, cottonseed, hempseed, linseed, olive, palm, palm kernel, peanut, perilla, poppyseed, rapeseed, sesame, soya bean, tung oils –

Forest Products: lumber, wood pulp, rubber, quebracho, camphor, cocoanut shells, cinchona bark –

Miscellaneous: hides and skins, bones, opium, nux vomica, shellac.

Attention must, therefore, be given to the state of technical development in different parts of the world, as shown by the world distribution of machinery, particularly of power appliances.

Ernest Wagemann, *Structure and Rhythm of World Economy* (in German)
Adolf Weber, *World Economy* (in German)

The standard of living:

N. F. Hall, *Measures of a National or International Character for Raising the Standard of Living*

Trade, finance and investment:

W. A. Brown, Jr., *International Gold Standard Reinterpreted 1913–1934* (2 vols.)
Margaret S. Gordon, *Barriers to World Peace*
F. E. Lawley, *Growth of Collective Economy* (2 vols.)
F. E. Melder, *State and Local Barriers to Interstate Commerce in the United States: A Study in Economic Nationalism*
Heinrich Heuser, *Control of International Trade*
Bertil Ohlin, *Inter-Regional Trade*
Carl Iverson, *International Capital Movements*
Howard W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism*

For the fluctuating rhythm of world economic activity, reference may be made to Joseph Schumpater, *Business Cycles*, and the relevant monographs published by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Special studies of the technique of managing goods and prices, particularly in totalitarian countries:

W. G. Welk, *Fascist Economic Policy*
Max Ascoli and E. Feiler, *Fascism For Whom*
R. A. Brady, *Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*
Eli F. Hecksher, *Mercantilism*
Oscar Lange, *On the Economic Theory of Socialism*

World strategy

Strategy is concerned with the use of armies, navies, air forces and police, as means of total politics. The seminar will be concerned with the trends of fighting potential among the powers, with changes in the doctrine of war, with innovations in the organization of the armed forces, and in fighting technology. General studies of strategy:

Max Werner, *Battle For The World: The Strategy and Diplomacy of the Second World War; The Military Strength of the Powers*
 Herman Foertsch, *The Art of Modern Warfare*
 Charles de Gaulle, *The Army of the Future*
 B. H. Liddell-Hart, *The Defense of Britain*
 Richard W. Rowan, *Terror in Our Time*
 Pierre Dehillotte, *Gestapo* (in French)
 Herbert Rosinski, *The German Army*

The adjustment of society to war:

Arthur C. Pigou, *The Political Economy of War*
 Grosvenor B. Clarkson, *Industrial America in the World War*
 Hana Speier and Alfred Kahler (Editors), *War In Our Time*
 Horst Mendershausen, *The Economics of War*
 M. W. W. P. Consett, *The Triumph of the Inter-Armed Forces 1914–1918*
 Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell, *Mobilizing Civilian America*

The studies of strategy should be conducted in close conjunction with the General Staff and the War College. It is taken for granted that standard treatises on the history of America's experience in war and in the development of the armed forces will be utilized (such as Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Naval Power*, and *Towards a New Order of Sea Power*).

Conference on the American program

Two evenings each week should be devoted to the criticism of programs for the future of American relation to internal affairs and to the world. Specific suggestions should be discussed from every relevant point of view, ranging from their technical feasibility to the chances of acceptance. Representative of the books and authors currently relevant in this connection are:

Duncan Aikman, *The All-American Front*
 Thurman Arnold, *The Bottlenecks of Business*
 Hanson W. Baldwin, *United We Stand*
 O. E. Baker, Ralph Barsodi, M. L. Wilson, *Agriculture in Modern Life*
 Percy Wells Bidwell, *Our Trade with Britain*
 Alfred M. Bingham, *Man's Estate*
 William Diebold, Jr., *New Directions in Our Trade Policy*
 Lawrence Dennis, *Dynamics of War and Revolution*
 Morris L. Ernst, *Too Big*
 Mordecai Ezekial, *Jobs For All*
 Clark Foreman, *The New Internationalism*
 Jerome Frank, *Save America First*

C. William Hazelett, *Incentive Taxation, a Key to* (sic)
 Alvin H. Hansen, *Full Recovery or Stagnation*
 Clarence K. Streit, *Union Now With Britain*
 Walter Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*

Problems of governmental organization will continually arise in connection with the work of seminars and conferences. Some of the program thinking of the institution should be devoted to the streamlining of American institutions – legislative, executive, judicial, administrative – to meet modern necessities. The role of the presidency, in particular, calls for detailed consideration in relation to the other organs of American government. Recent relevant books are:

E. S. Corwin, *The President, Office and Powers*
 W. Y. Elliott, *The Need for Constitutional Reform*
 Pendleton Herring, *Presidential Leadership*
 H. J. Laski, *The American Presidency – An Interpretation*

The institution will need to draw upon specialists in administration who are experienced in government, business, and other large-scale social organizations. Among the university experts who are important for this program may be named Luther Gulick, John M. Gauss, Leonard D. White, Arthur M. MacMahon, Fritz M. Marx, and Carl J. Friedrich.

Under the American constitutional system, special attention always needs to be given to the legal techniques needed to achieve various public purposes. Among the specialists on constitutional law should be named E. S. Corwin, T. R. Powell, J. M. Landis, John Dickinson, Karl Llewellyn, Walton Hamilton, Wesley Sturges.

Many plans of world construction have already been devised and more of them will no doubt appear in the near future. Such books and reports as the following are representative of those that should be available for critical analysis:

Arthur Salter, *Framework of an Ordered Society*
 Lionel Robbins, *Economic Planning and International Order*
 Eugene Staley, *War and the Private Investor*
 Jacob Viner, *Improvement of Commercial Relations Between Nations*
 The World Crisis (Geneva Symposium)

Conference on personality

Two evenings a week should be devoted to reports upon scientific studies of personality development. The purpose will be to make clear what has been discovered about personality structure by modern specialists on child development, clinical psychology, comparative psychology, and medicine. The understanding of other people, whether for purposes of sympathetic insight, personnel

management, or public relations, is of obvious importance to students of policy. To some extent scientists have prepared films that show the important facts about child growth and personality structure. Arnold Gesell, for example, has systematically photographed the activities of selected groups of children and carefully established norms of traits and performance. Field workers in modern anthropology have made use of the motion picture to record the way in which children are treated at different years of their lives in very different cultures than our own (Margaret Mead). The result of these studies is to show the degree in which human nature is subject to control by the environment – by the indulgences or deprivations inflicted or offered by parents, playmates and other persons. Recent studies of Chinese and Japanese children and young people have begun to show the specific factors that contribute to the formation of the adult personalities that we recognize as ‘distinctively Chinese’ or ‘distinctively Japanese’ (Bingham Dai).

It is important for the political leader or administrator to be able to recognize incipient personality disorder before damage has resulted. A student of policy, with modern training, should be able to recognize the symptoms of breakdown among his associates in time to prevent serious consequences (false accusations, suicides, homicide, etc.). If developing disorders are spotted in time, it is possible to make adequate assistance tactfully available.

Many persons function far below their level of potential effectiveness because of personality difficulties that can be removed with comparative ease. Many otherwise successful personalities suffer from quite unnecessary ‘touchiness,’ or recurring periods of depression. Even some physical reactions – gastro-intestinal upsets or eye trouble – are frequently connected with personality difficulties that can be controlled.

In making the best use of available personnel, personality characteristics must be expertly observed, and successful working combinations understood and repeated. Ways of describing these relationships have been devised and can be applied by responsible leaders of military, business, church, governmental and other institutions.

Many times the effectiveness of individuals is reduced, not through failure of personality, but through defects of skill. Sometimes they are unaware of conspicuous shortcomings – in speech, mannerism, diet. Opportunities to improve expressive skills should be readily available to students.

As we said before, as participants in the training program become more clear about the vital importance of the decisions that they are to influence, they will voluntarily seek to make themselves more and more effective leaders in the achievement of the basic ideals of a free society. The environment during the training years should be full of opportunities for personal aid whenever individual students desire to take advantage of them.

In planning the educational program no one should lose sight of the supreme importance of educating leaders by contact with leaders. The students of this unique training school should measure themselves at first hand with the brightest minds and most effective men of action in America, if not the world. There

is no mystical formula for 'training leaders.' But if there is one sound maxim that deserves to be repeated it is that leaders breed leaders – not necessarily in the biological sense, but certainly in the developmental sense. Minds grow sharp when they meet other keen and creative minds. Action grows more disciplined and powerful in the light of direct experience of potent men of action.

The institution should be a place where leaders train their successors, and grow by increasing interplay upon one another. We do not lose sight of the fact that the Fellowship year is the beginning – not the end – of a productive experience in the service of a great national and moral goal. The fellows will be bound by no chains of duty, but by community of aim and method to perpetuate with one another and with the institution.

Successful Fellows may well return frequently, not only as casual visitors, but as continuing participants in the intellectual and moral life of the institution. There will be Fellows who will explore new lines of research; they will be welcome figures at seminars and conferences. Men of action among the Fellows may contribute little systematic thought; but they can disclose valuable experience and interpretive insight.

Long-term programs may germinate and take root. Kindred spirits may embark upon long-range investigations – and utilize long or short sojourns at the institution to give new directions to their work.

From the Fellows may grow dynamic programs that at once express and direct the historical movements of the time. In the ceaseless interrelationship between thought and action, American civilization can rise to ever clearer conceptions of itself, and ever greater contributions to human freedom.

Harold D. Lasswell
September 1, 1943